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ABSTRACT

This paper describes a procedure used to locate pretend play episodes in streams of play activity of 4- and 5-year-olds. A story grammar was used to compare pretend play episode activity with story construction. Participants were five girls and three boys attending the same preschool. Pretend play schemes and episodes were defined in terms of three transformational categories: changes in the here and now (decontextualization), changes in the you and me (self-other referencing), and changes in the this and that (substitution). Two research strategies were employed: (1) a series of unstructured interviews with the children and their primary caregivers for a total of 43 transcribed interviews; and (2) the videotaping of pretend play activity during 'free play' time on a regular basis as a form of nonparticipant observation. Domain analysis was used to analyze interview data and classify play into kinds of play. A checklist was developed for the purpose of locating episodes, and analytic induction and domain analysis were used to analyze 41 videotaped episodes of pretend play and accompanying transcriptions. Three key features of pretend play episodes emerged: the presence of an organizing topic, stages of construction, and a tendency for recurrence. Stages of construction included readying, directing, and acting stages. Episodes were examined for story-like qualities, and episode 17 is analysed in detail in this paper. The three basic story elements of setting, plot, and resolution were observed. A close resemblance between episode construction and story construction was revealed. Implications of the findings are discussed in terms of structure, fictionalizing, and storying as literacy connections. Five figures supplement the account, and appendixes include sample interview probes, player profiles, and a taxonomy of pretend play activity. (RH)

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THE PRETEND PLAY EPISODE: LOCATION AND RESEMBLANCE TO STORY

A Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of American Educational Research Association

April 7, 1988, New Orleans, LA.

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is two-fold: to describe a procedure used to locate pretend play episodes in streams of play activity of four and five year olds and to compare pretend play episode activity to story construction using a story grammar as an analytic tool. Each of these topics has been extracted from a larger study (Roskos, 1987) which explored the nature of literate behavior in the pretend play episodes of eight preschoolers.

A PROCEDURE FOR LOCATING PRETEND PLAY EPISODES IN STREAMS OF PRETEND PLAY ACTIVITY

As with any study involving play behavior, definitional and methodological issues of play inquiry were addressed at the outset of this specific research effort (Bergen, 1988; Christie & Johnson, 1983; Simon & Smith, 1985). Since it was the intent of the original study to closely examine literate behavior (scribbling/writing, book-handling, reading) in pretend play activity, particularily in focused and sustained pretend play activity, two research decisions were made early on. First, pretend play would be considered as a distinct kind of play with specific indices of behavior, although some theorists and researchers suggest that pretending may be an attribute of play in general (Christie & Johnson, 1983; Miller, 1973; Vygotsky, 1967). Second, attempts would be made to capture this kind of play as it occurred naturally in a preschool setting, in interview

sessions with young children, and as reported by their caregivers over an extended period of time, thereby addressing certain basic needs in play research: the need for descriptive data gathered in situ, an emic view of pretend play, and sustained observations over time (Krasnor & Pepler, 1980; Simon & Smith, 1985; Sutton-Smith, 1980).

Starting On The Outside

Starting on the outside is starting with existing theoretical descriptions of pretend play activity which guide the researcher in those initial attempts to 'catch hold' of pretend play. What do we seem to know?

Although many different terms are used interchangeably to refer to pretend play activity (imaginative play, social play, fantasy play, symbolic play) (Fein, 1981), the identifying mark of all is the presence of pretense, defined as behavior in a simulative or nonliteral mode (Fein, 1981; Garvey, 1977).

Simulative activity is imitation or mimicking: the child pretends to cry. Nonliteral behavior has one or more of the following characteristics (Fein, 1981):

- doing the familiar without the required materials or context, e.g., using clay to bake a cake;
- not following an activity to its logical conclusion, e.g., using a paint brush as a gun rather than as an object to paint with;
- treating inanimate objects as animate, e.g., feeding a stuffed animal;
- substituting an object, gesture, or oneself for something or someone else, e.g., using one's finger as as pencil.

In general, all of these behaviors are evident in the fabric of the young child's daily play, appearing spontaneously around the age of three, becoming more elaborate, language-involved, and frequent until about school age after which there appears to be a tapering off of their direct presence, which is not to imply that such behaviors cease, only that they are not as directly observable (Bergen, 1988; Fein, 1981).

Different aspects of preschooler pretend play have been explored extensively with particular attention paid to the development of substitution (e.g., Golomb, 1977; Overton & Jackson, 1973; Pulaski, 1973) and roletaking (e.g., Garvey, 1977a; Wolf, et. al. 1984). In each of these areas, a developmental sequence has been sketched. Roletaking is highlighted by shifts from solitary to group pretense, self-to-other referencing, and single to multiple roles. Substitution tends to proceed from physical objects to gesture and invention. Research in these areas has provided a fairly solid description of specific components or parts of pretend play activity.

Considering pretend play activity more holistically, Garvey (1974; 1977a,b; with Berndt, 1977; with Miller, 1984), in particular, has probed the organization of pretend play and how language is used to structure and sustain the play event. Observing that children, as young as three, seemed to plan their play, enact the plan and terminate it through a

process of negotiation and shared responsibility for the creation of texts or scripts, she proposed that 'playing is saying'; in other words, pretend play, like language, includes linguistic and pragmatic systems.

In a similar vein, but paradigmatically different, Schwartzman (1977) also examined the planning and execution of pretend play events. Employing participant observation as a primary technique, she recorded in-depth field notes on the make-believe play activities of play groups during "free play" in a day-care center. Her data revealed nine types of play statements (including both verbal and nonverbal behavior) which, like Garvey's play communications, created, sustained and eventually terminated the play event.

However, unlike Garvey, Schwartzman was able to capture a dimension of play rarely disclosed in the experimental situation - its social context, that is the social history children bring to the play event. Children unfamiliar with one another playing about in an unfamiliar laboratory environment is one thing and those familiar with one another in a known environment is quite another. As Schwartzman (1978) maintains, social context and an awareness of it influences the interpretation of the play itself. Based on her work, she suggested that make-believe play "is both a text and a context" (p. 245) - and that to fully understand the pretend play event, both the play text and the specific

social context in which it is embedded need to be considered.

Since the intent of the study was to explore focused and sustained pretend play activity for literate behavior, it was decided to use both Garvey's work and that of Schwartzman as research frames of reference because their work treated pretend play as a whole event and focused on play language or text. Garvey's definition of pretend play was selected to guide initial observations of pretend play activity. She distinguishes pretend play behavior activity from other activity by changes in the here and now, you and me, this and that. Fein's (1979) descriptive categories of symbolic transformations served to elaborate this definition:

- decontextualization (changes in the here and now), i.e., when "the child's behavior becomes detached from the real life situation in which it ordinarily occurs (mealtime, bedtime) and the motivational underpinnings ordinarily associated with it (hunger, fatigue)" (Fein, 1979, p. 203);
- self-other transformations (changes in the you and me), e.g., the child pretends to eat, pretends to feed a doll, assumes the doll is eating/sleeping, or the child assumes a role;
- object substitution (changes in the this and that), i.e., when a material is used in a nonliteral way as when a ball of clay becomes a meatball.

When the three kinds of changes co-occur or are woven together about some plan, Garvey suggests that this is a pretend play scheme, a format, or schemata - "abstract representations of dynamic relations and events from which more detailed plans or action formats can be derived" (in Schwartzman, 1978, p. 230). Fein (1979) refers to this kind

of pretend play activity as 'collective symbolization' when "a stick can be food, a child a baby, and a scene represent mealtime...if the players understand the substitutions, roles and themes, and negotiate the arrangements" (p. 207). In keeping with Garvey's definitions for pretend play activity, a collection of the three changes was defined as a pretend play scheme.

Since pretend play schemes include other kinds of pretend play activity and also appear to require the development of a play text of sorts, it was decided to probe these in particular for instances of literate behavior (reading and writing-like behaviors, e.g. pretending to read a book or scribbling a note). To focus the study somewhat more narrowly, it was also decided to examine only those schemes which lasted for five minutes or longer. These then were referred to as pretend play episodes which became the 'artifacts' of interest, so to speak. The pretend play episode, then, became the play category of focus.

To summarize the above discussion, Figure 1 synthesizes the definitional frame of reference used at the outset of the study. It eased the locating of pretend play activity in the daily activity of the youngsters studied and facilitated the initial bracketing off of pretend play episodes in streams of naturally-occurring pretend play activity.

[Insert Figure 1 here]

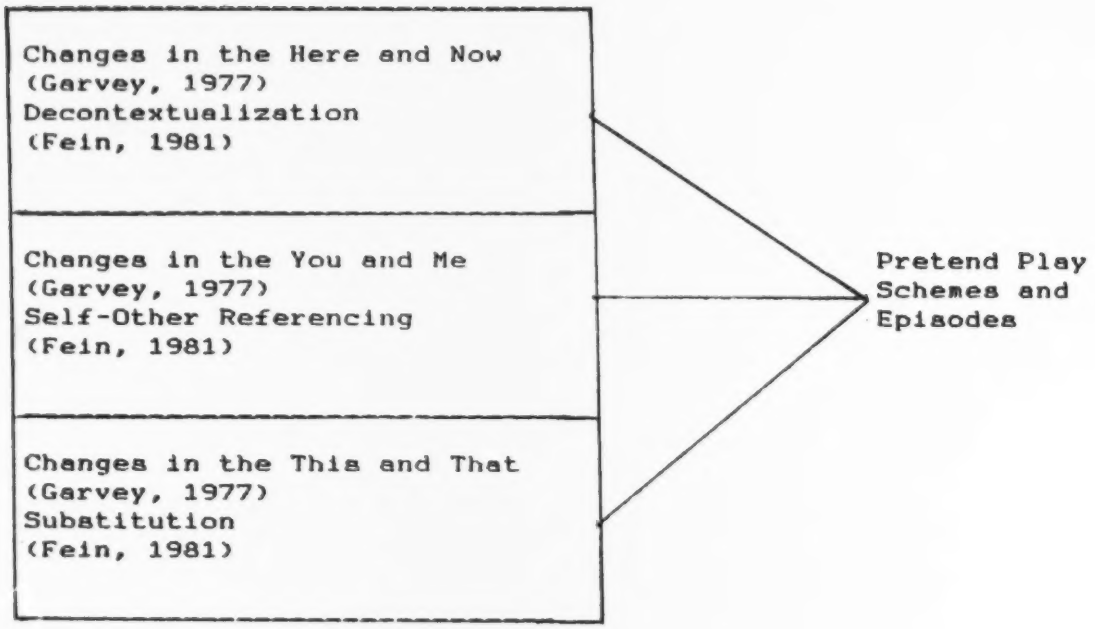

Figure 1. Transformational categories that result in pretend play schemes and episodes.

Getting On The Inside

Getting on the inside of a play category such as the pretend play episode requires data collection from multiple perspectives not the least of which are those of the players themselves. To do so in this study, an ethnographic approach was used.

Eight informants, five girls and three boys, all of whom attended the same preschool, were selected on the basis of their typicality as four and five year old children. The primary caregivers of these eight children, in most cases the mothers, were also automatically included as informants. (See Appendix A for brief descriptions of the informants).

To become familiar with the pretend play activity of these children, two research strategies were employed:

- a series of unstructured interviews (Spradley, 1979) with the children and their primary caregivers for a total of 43 transcribed interviews; and
- the videotaping of pretend play activity during 'free play' time on a regular basis as a form of nonparticipant observation (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984) totaling 1860 minutes of videotaped and transcribed pretend play activity.

Procedures specific to each of these strategies are detailed in the following discussion.

The Unstructured Interviews

An initial in-depth interview to characterize the home life and daily play activity of each child was conducted with the children and their primary caregivers prior to videotaping

in the classroom setting. Subsequent interviewing (3 additional sessions) occurred mid-way through the study, took place in the same locations and generally followed the same format, although the interview probes became more focused and integrated with ongoing videotaped observations of pretend play as it occurred in the preschool. Each interview was transcribed prior to the next and used as a basis for discussion and reference. (See Appendix B for examples of the interview probes and excerpts from interview transcripts.)

To minimize possible anxieties and fearfulness of the children in an interview situation, both the primary caregivers and their children were interviewed simultaneously although in separate locations. The parent interviews were conducted by the researcher in an office setting and were audiotaped. The child interviews were conducted by a preschool teacher (familiar to the informants) who had been trained in the interview procedure. All of these interviews were videotaped. Seated on the floor of living room-like area with toys scattered about, the child interviewer engaged the youngster in a focused conversation. Toward the close of each interview, the child was invited to play with the researcher. Later on these play sessions proved particularly important as a cross-reference for pretend play episodes as observed in the preschool setting and described by parents.

The interviews tended to yield three kinds of information: parent/child language used to talk about pretend play activity, parent/child descriptions of kinds of pretend play activity, and parent/child explanations of the organization and frequency of pretend play activity in home and neighborhood. In general, using domain analysis (Spradley, 1979), the interview data were analyzed on the basis of the semantic relationship classifying play into kinds.

The Videotaping

The videotaping procedure underwent three important shifts in focus as the study progressed, primarily due to an improved ability to access pretend play episodes.

FOCUSING ON FAMILIARITY. Initial steps for nonparticipant observation through videotaping began in the preliminary stages of the study. Random play activities were videotaped in the preschool at least twice a week for two weeks to refine videotaping basics, such as positioning in the room, and to accustom the teachers and the children to the presence of the researcher with camera in hand.

FOCUSING ON THE OUTSIDE. Next, I began visiting the classroom more frequently (3 or more times a week), always while the children were at play (referred to as Activity Time) and always with a video camera in hand. Typically entries and exits were aligned with classroom transition times.

The eight children selected as informants were specifically videotaped while at play. Generally, one of the eight was selected on any one day and filmed for the entire play time. It should be pointed out that the children tended to be members of self-selected play groups and frequently the target children played together in small groups (typically the fours with each other and the fives with each other), thus even if one child were selected for videotaping, the others were filmed also. These videotaped data were regularly scanned for indications of pretend play activity i.e., voluntary transformations in behavior or changes in the here and now, coded H/N, changes in the you and me, coded S/O, and changes in the this and that, coded SUB (for substitution) (Fein, 1979; Garvey, 1977). A collection of transformations clustering around a topic (like house) was coded COLL (for collection) and represented a pretend play scheme. If a scheme was sustained for five minutes or more, it was identified as a pretend play episode and coded PPE.

Using these videotaped data, the initial interview data, and identifying information from preschool records, a sketch of each player-informant and his/her play activity was developed. (See Appendix C for player profiles.)

FOCUSING ON THE INSIDE. As videotaped observational data accumulated into the third month of the study, it became easier to detect the onset of a pretend play episode. At this point, I began to bracket off the episodes from the

videotaped streams of play activity (using the counter on the video monitor) and transcribing them. [Note: The episodes were not edited out of the original videos and transferred to a separate video because activity that came before and after each episode contributed to an understanding of the episode itself as it emerged in streams of play activity in the setting.] By repeatedly watching the episodes and examining the accompanying transcriptions it was much easier to 'see' how an episode was created and sustained for five minutes or more. Based on these observations, the checklist in Figure 2 was developed for locating episodes when scanning the mounting videotaped data of play activity. Needless to say, once privy to the inside of the episode it became easier to spot one from the outside.

[Insert Figure 2 here]

As familiarity with the episode grew and was cross-checked through informant interviews, a simplified version of the checklist was developed as illustrated in Figure 3. Using this checklist, forty-one episodes were located in 1860 minutes of pretend play activity as demonstrated by the eight player-informants. Each of these was transcribed, a sketch drawn of its location in the preschool classroom, and a listing made of those who participated in it.

[Insert Figure 3 here]

1. Locate a collection of voluntary transformations, i.e., one or more of each of the following transformations or changes:

- decontextualization
  (changes in the here and now),
- self/other transformations
  (changes in the you and me),
- object substitutions
  (changes in the this and that).

2. Look for an announcement, assigning or adoption of roles among players.

3. Listen for a stated or implied topic or plan, e.g., play house, play bank, take a trip, cook.

4. Note a detailing of the topic, e.g., the baby is sick or money is needed for a trip or there is a need to prepare for something.

5. Observe if the players negotiate and sustain the collection of voluntary transformations around the topic long enough for the topic to be developed. (In the study, this appeared to require at least five minutes of play.)

Figure 2. Procedure for isolating a pretend play episode.

Step 1

ARE THERE CHANGES?

- Here and Now - Yes No
- You and Me - Yes No
- This and That - Yes No
- Multiple - Yes No

Step 2

IS THERE A TOPIC?

- Stated - Yes No
- Implied - Yes No

Step 3

ARE THERE ROLES?

- Assigned - Yes No
- Announced - Yes No
- Assumed - Yes No

Step 4

IS THERE A DETAILING OF TOPIC?

- Central Concern - Yes No

Step 5

DOES THE PLAY LAST?

- 5 minutes or more - Yes No

Figure 3. Checklist for locating a pretend play episode in pretend play activity.

To check the reliability of the checklist procedure, two preschool teachers were briefed about kinds of pretend play activity and the procedure for locating an episode. After two practice sessions, they were asked to isolate episodes in videotapes of pretend play activity. Given the condensed checklist (Figure 3), they were asked to locate pretend play episodes in videotaped play sessions, some including episodes and some not. Using the checklist, they accurately located all the episodes embedded within the pretend play activity containing episodes.

Overall the videotaped observational data yielded important information about the construction of a specific kind of pretend play activity and its content or substance. In a sense, a kind of transitory artifact embedded in the culture of these players had been extracted and preserved and could now be examined more closely (and quietly). Primarily, the ethnographic procedures of analytic induction (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984) and more specifically domain analysis (Spradley, 1979) were used to analyze the 41 episode videos and accompanying transcriptions.

APPROACHING, NOT ENCROACHING: SOME COMMENTS ON THIS PROCEDURE

The procedure described here for locating pretend play episodes in streams of pretend play activity essentially involves 'approach', in the sense of 'getting near to without scaring away'. It entails finding and becoming

familiar with pretend play episodes, a specific play category, in ways that are at once structured and meaningful yet not too disruptive to the flow of the activity itself. Basically the approach consists of a two-step procedure.

First, approach is global and from the outside; it involves the development of a theoretical/research frame of reference which permits the observer to access pretend play activity and to localize variants of it. In this initial approach, the variants of the activity tend to be perceived as products of a certain conglomerate of behaviors and as such can be framed for sustained looking. Approaching in this manner, definitiveness is gained; we know what we are looking at. However, other dimensions of the play activity, such as meaning, still elude. We look, but do we see?

To see requires approach a second time and more cautiously with concern for point of view, specificity, and the process which undergirds the product (the play category or event) we initially looked at, i.e., the episode. Now the emphasis is on becoming familiar with the players, their intents, and their involvement in the play event - up close and natural - without encroaching or meddling by means of preconceived notions. In a sense, it is the players' turn to interpret the activity in their own words. Allowing this, the observer becomes better acquainted with that series of actions which conduced toward the product first localized and observed.

Then, by cross-referencing player interpretation with theoretical and research-based interpretations (the inside with the outside), it is possible to obtain both a broader and a narrower 'fix' on the play category itself. Not only can the observer find and look at the activity (the narrower product-side) which tends to constrict observation, but also begin to understand it and perhaps, even appreciate it (the broader process-side) which tends to expand and elaborate observation. Approaching pretend play activity in this way, either as an object of inquiry in and of itself or as a condition in the exploration of other phenomena, e.g., literacy, chances are greater for capturing the behavior and not missing its meaning or significance.

PRETEND PLAY EPISODE AS STORY

Using the proecdure just described, 41 episodes were located in the pretend play activity of the player-informants. These were then examined for story-like qualities.

Preliminary to a description of the pretend play episode as a story, a brief overview of findings related to key features of the episode is necessary. More detailed descriptions of the features are available elsewhere (see Roskos, 1987).

Through repeated scanning of videotapes of episodes and reading of episode transcriptions three key features of the pretend play episode emerged: the presence of an organizing

topic, stages of construction, and a tendency for recurrence. Interview data collected from the children and their primary caregivers also tended to support the existence of these features.

An episode was based on an organizing topic which served as a framework around which a story or text could be built. Usually the topic was embedded in a play scheme like the "play house" scheme or the "play doctor" scheme. For example, treating and healing a sick baby was an organizing topic in the "play doctor" scheme. (See Appendix D for a sampling of organizing topics.)

The construction of an episode appeared to consist of three stages. During the readying stage players spent time becoming acquainted with the play territory by observing, handling and manipulating objects in the play setting. An example of this is the chatter of five year old Jackie as she prepares to "play office": "Did you get the money? What could be my desk? I need that (a stamp for printing). Where's the other thing that goes with it? I'm not gonna use it yet, I'm just gonna get it ready."

As the setting for the play was consolidated, the players moved into the directing stage. Now roles tended to be established: "We both be mothers and he be the father" (Sarah, age 4). Ground rules were determined: "Pretend like your're waitin' out there, OK?" (Jackie, age 5). A central concern or problem developed: "Bucks (money)! I want those

bucks! Let's go to Sea World, Adam" (Sheona, age 4). In addition, among the eight players observed in the study, a primary relater often emerged. This individual tended to coordinate the other players, meshing their talk and actions with the central concern so that the unfolding episode made sense. The primary relater was like a story builder and appeared to serve as play leader, negotiator, mediator and/or narrator. Sometimes one primary relater dominated a play group; at other times, the players took turns serving as the relater. When a child played alone, he or she tended to "talk out loud" or to narrate orally the play episode.

The acting stage represented the culmination of episode construction. Now props, roles, talk and actions were so interlinked that a story line tended to unfold. There were numerous threats to this stage: intruders, the authorities (the teacher, for example), conflicts unrelated to the story line among the players, and sudden shifts in context, to name a few. Thus, the players needed to cooperate, 'stay tuned', and negotiate so that the fragile and vulnerable story line could be maintained. Nevertheless, the acting stage often ended abruptly and usually in one of three ways: one or more of the players stopped the action; an interruption, disruption or intrusion stopped the action; a new central concern emerged and changed the thrust of the action. (Please see Appendix E for synopses of a sampling of episodes.)

Once the youngsters in the study had created a successful episode, they tended to use the same props, roles and/or ground rules in an effort to induce the episode again or continue it. Data from the interviews and videotapes corroborated the recurrence of certain episodes. An excellent example is that of Sheona, age 4. In an interview session she started a story about a camper truck and a fire: "Uh-oh! We better drive out of this place. There's a fire nearby. Get the babies out!" And continued it twenty days later, as follows:

Sheona: You know we could pretend this is the newspaper and we could be in the truck with the camper in it.
Interviewer: Oh, that camper again, huh?
Sheona: The stuff we missed the last time.
Interviewer: What did we miss the last time?
Sheona: We missed getting away from the fire. We went away from the fire, but the truck was there.

In their efforts to repeat episodes, the children formed variations of favorites, sometimes creating more elaborate episodes and other times reducing the episode to a ritual.

To summarize this brief sketch of the pretend play episode, Figure 4 highlights its distinguishing features.

[Insert Figure 4 here]

As familiarity with episode construction grew, a striking resemblance between it and story organization surfaced. It almost seemed as if the episode was a kind of story making-in-action and that the players used the episode framework not so much to 'play' as to create a satisfying

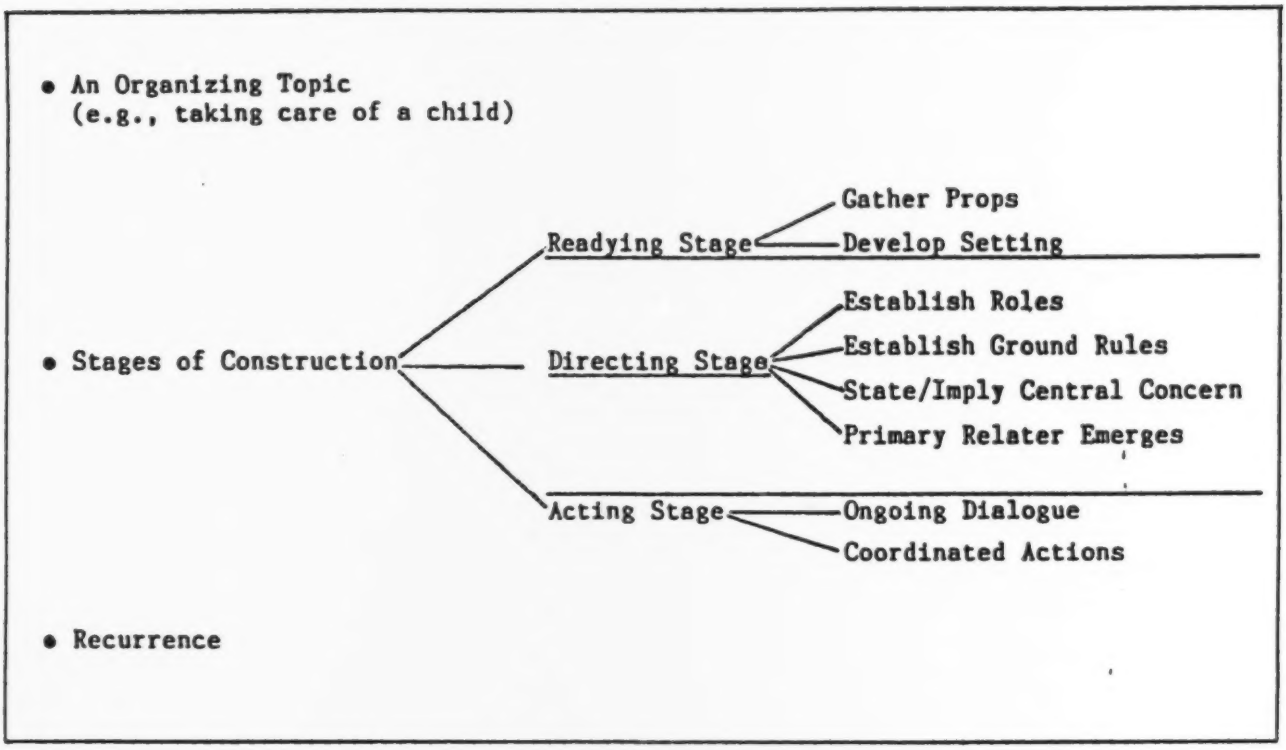

Figure 4. Distinguishing features of the pretend play episode.

story. In a sense, to borrow or perhaps elaborate on Vygotsky's (1967, pp. 12-13) notion, the episode served as the pivot for extracting story from action. To probe this possibility, a story grammar model (Stein & Glenn, 1979) was employed as an analytic tool to compare the transcriptions of the episodes to story development and organization.

According to Stein and Glenn (1979), every story must contain a setting, a plot, and a resolution. Each of these has certain parts. Setting includes time, place, location, main characters, and the general goal or purpose of the story. Plot consists of chains of situations that lead to the realization of story purpose. Each situation constituting the plot has five parts, as follows:

- an initiating event which outlines the problem,
- a response to the problem (defining of the goal or need),
- an attempt to meet the goal,
- a consequence as a result of the attempt,
- a reaction or a conclusion to the situation.

The concluding situation which brings closure to the plot represents the resolution phase or the end of the story.

In each of the episodes from the study the three basic story elements of setting, plot and to some extent resolution were observed. Even in those episodes constructed by a single player, the basic story elements were evident. In general, the readying and directing stages of the 41 episodes tended to parallel the setting of a story. The acting stage of the episodes seemed to encompass the plot and resolution phase. Figure 5 depicts these parallels.

[Insert Figure 5 here]

To demonstrate the finding that an episode both in action and text appeared to resemble a story as defined by a story grammar, an representative example is given below. The resemblance is highlighted in two ways. First, the likeness between the stages of episode building and basic story elements is cited. Second, the specific parts constituting each story element (setting and plot) are indicated within the episode transcript where applicable. It should be stated, however, that in demonstrating this resemblance the story grammar model was used in a broad and general manner. Large chunks of episode actions were compared to a story grammar framework mainly because episodes evolved into stories spontaneously, thus lacking the deliberateness and cohesion of a planned narrative.

PRETEND PLAY EPISODE 17 AS A STORY ENTITLED "THE NAUGHTY DAUGHTERS"

As mentioned previously, in episode building the readying and directing stage seemed similar to the setting element of a story. During the readying stage specifically, place was chosen; props were assembled and organized; preliminary notions about roles and identities were suggested. Thus, it tended to provide two parts of setting: time and place.

Stages of Construction	Story Grammar (Stein & Glenn, 1979)	
Readying Stage	Setting	Time Place
Directing Stage	Setting	Location Character Goal-Setting
Acting Stage	Plot	
	*Resolution	

*Not always present in episodes.

Figure 5. Similarities between episode stages of construction and story.

The Readying Stage of Episode 17 as the Time and Place of the Setting of the Story Entitled "The Naughty Daughters".

Note: The indicators of time and place are boxed.

Claudia and Kathy are in the House Area with their babies. They are arguing over who will use the baby stroller. Jackie and Erika are in the Office Area near the house. They have their babies "at work" with them.

Jackie and Erika, who appear to be office workers, perform various jobs in the office. They give shots to Rey: "There all done! Want a bandaid on it?" They also prepare baby bottles. "This one's for old ones and this one's for new ones." And they write checks. "I need big ones and little ones."

Claudia (who appears to be the mom) and Kathy (who appears to be her daughter) continue to work in the kitchen. Claudia performs routine household chores. She has her baby in the playpen. Kathy sorts mail and papers at the table. Then Erika goes to the house, knocks on the door, enters and hands her baby to Claudia, the mom. Claudia or mom is worried about money and mentions this to Erika, Jackie, and Kathy. She rummages through a number of purses looking for money.

As this episode flowed into the directing stage, it tended to become more story-like. As mentioned earlier, the directing stage appeared to consist of role determinations, the establishment of ground rules, emergence of a primary relater, and a statement of central concern. The interaction of these events during the directing stage may be likened to three additional parts of story setting: the establishment of the location (where the action is), the introduction to the main characters, and the expression of story purpose.

Excerpts from Episode 17 illustrating this are given below. First there is an excerpt that demonstrates parallels clustering around the elaboration of setting: location, main characters, and general background for the story. This is followed by an excerpt that indicates similarities between the central concern of the episode and the story purpose or goal.

The Directing Stage of Episode 17 as the Location/ Character Parts of the Setting in the Story Entitled "The Naughty Daughters".
Note: The indicators of location and main characters are boxed. In the Office Area, Erika and Jackie are busily writing

checks, Jackie tells Erika that she needs "big ones and little ones." Erika feeds Jackie a constant supply of checks and check stubs.

Claudia who Kathy has now referred to as Mom, is still very concerned about money. She has asked Erika twice for money already. Erika has been reluctant to give her money out of the black purse that serves as the vault for all the money. In fact, every chance she gets, Erika takes money she sees or intercepts money from others and puts it in the 'vault'.

Then Jackie says to Claudia, "Mom, we're stayin' at work. Erika agrees with Jackie stating, "We have to stay for the night for the..." Claudia mumbles something to them about being home for dinner, but she is interrupted by "Katherine" who is having some problems sorting money and mail at the table.

Jackie comments to Erika, "Mom will really yell at us."

The Directing Stage of Episode 17 as the Purpose of the Setting of the Story Entitled "The Naughty Daughters".

Note: The indicators of story purpose are boxed.

Jackie continues to talk to Erika in the office, commenting, "Wait 'cause I have to drive the car." Erika is preparing to go with Jackie. She is fiddling with a pink purse. Jackie starts to leave and Erika calls out "Wait!" But Jackie walks to the house.

Jackie enters the house and says to Claudia, "Mom, I'm home. Are you still mad at me?" Claudia is busily engaged with Katherine. She is saying, "I'm sorry Kathy, I didn't mean to..." Then she looks up at Jackie, and authoritatively says, "Shhhhhhhh... The baby's sleepin'. Now be quiet!" After a brief moment, she and Jackie whisper quietly to one another.

Then Jackie leans over into the Office Area and informs Erika, We're gonna be grounded."

She turns to Claudia and asks, "Are we grounded now?"

Claudia responds forcefully, "No, but you're gonna be. Now sit down and eat. I'm makin' supper." Jackie begins to argue with her. Erika joins the arguing. But Claudia wins out. Finally, the two girls sit down at the table and Claudia moves to the stove to begin to prepare dinner.

Once the central concern had been stated and a 'goodness of fit' between setting, roles, and props negotiated by the players, a coordinated action appeared to ensue. It was sustained, it seemed, by the continued meshing of dialogue and behaviors around the central concern or problem. This integration process could be likened to the plot phase of a story. The players (or a single player) attempted to solve a problem or meet a goal they themselves had invented; the consequences or result was a resolution of the problem or attainment of the goal. The sequence of actions employed to attain the goal, especially if resulting in satisfactory attainment of the goal, seemed to become like scripts for resolving a similar episode. As was noted earlier, recurrence appeared to be a feature of episodes.

However, it should be noted that because an episode appeared to be a spontaneously negotiated event, group efforts to handle or meet a goal especially tended to become muddled or diverted, thus entangling and complicating the story line.

To illustrate the parallels between the parts of the situations that contributed to the plot as defined in a story grammar model and the content of the acting stage of an episode, Episode 17 is continued. For clarification purposes, the major situations that constituted the plot have been boxed. The specific parts of each situation as

delineated in the story grammar model are indicated in the margins of the text by using the following code:

- IE = Initiating Event
- RS = Response
- AT/OT = Attempt/Outcome
- RC = Reaction

The Acting Stage of Episode 17 as the Plot of the Story Entitled "The Naughty Daughters".

Note: To the extent possible, the parts of each plot situation have been boxed and the code for the parts constituting each plot situation have been indicated in the margin.

As Claudia or Mom turns her back to cook at the stove,

IE the [two daughters sneak out of the house.] They go to the

RS office and crouch down on the floor. [But Mom sees them. She marches over to the office and shouts, "Get out from under there! C'mon."]

AT/OT [They get up.] Jackie follows Mom home, but Erika decides

RC to stay in the office. Mom tells Jackie, ["Now you stay And you're gonna be grounded."] Jackie argues, "But what about her" (she is referring to Katherine). Mom replies, "She ate her supper. You didn't. Now sit down!" Jackie

continues to protest, "I got a date." But Mom stands firm, "Noooo! Go tell Sis that she has to come to eat." (She is referring to Erika who stayed in the office.) Erika will not budge. Looking at Jackie, she shouts, "I already ate. Tell her I already had my supper."

Mom proceeds to make supper. She takes bowls out of the refrigerator and talks to herself. Jackie acts like a bored and disgusted teenager; she swaggers and sighs. Mom asks her, "What station do you want on while you are eating? Do you wanna listen to music?" Jackie just

IE says, "Yeah." [Meantime, Erika comes sauntering into the kitchen saying in a taunting tone, "I'm not eating. I ate

RS at Beef 'n Beer (a local restaurant)."] [This sets Jackie off. They all begin to argue with Mom and all three daughters stomp out of the kitchen defying Mom.]

AT/OT [Ignoring such defiance, Mom continues to cook.] [Eventually

RC the girls return one by one. Mom reminds them that, I'm makin' dinner, so you have to come home." The girls sit at the table and she gently scolds them: "Don't drink it all. Eat your Microchips. Don't eat fast," and so on.]

After supper, Jackie decides to take the baby for a walk in the stroller. Mom is somewhat concerned because it is cold outside and makes sure the baby has a blanket. Jackie agrees, "Now she won't be cold. It's snowing. I know. I

IE know." Then Mom warns Jackie to be careful and "don't smoke cigarettes".

RS Of course, when out of the sight of Mom, Jackie smokes cigarettes. She strolls with the baby and smokes.

AT/OT Finally she comes home. And she says defiantly to Mom,

RC "I was smokin'." Mom gasps, "You wasn't!" Somewhat

IE nervous now, Jackie attempts to implicate Sis as well,

RS "Sis was." Erika is shocked and shouts, "I was not smokin'." Jackie replies, "We were too!" Erika screams

AT/OT back, "I did not!" Mom intervenes. "It doesn't matter! You are grounded for the whole, whole week!" Then she looks directly at Jackie, shakes her finger and says, "I told you not to see that man."

RE Jackie replies pointing to Erika, "Well no. She was in the car with the baby and she was smokin'. She was." Erika interrupts, "Uh-uh - Kathy has the baby."

Mom calms down and goes on to other things. After a bit,

IE Jackie turns to Erika and asks, "Were you smokin'?"

RS Erika says, "No." Then Jackie says, "If you were, you're gonna be grounded." Erika tells Mom, "I wasn't smokin'. I was smoking candy." Jackie continues to agitate. "You were too. You weren't smokin' candy cigarettes. If you were smokin' candy cigarettes that was my candy

AT/OT cigarettes." Erika and Jackie begin to argue vehemently

RC almost to the point of exchanging blows. Mom puts her hands between them and separates them shouting, "You both did it! I told you, you are both grounded!"

The acting stage of an episode may also include the concluding situation or resolution of a story. It appeared that at this point episodes were least like stories. Episodes tended to end rather messily. 'The End' part of an episode could be imposed on by external forces, like the ringing of the bell at the end of Activity Time or the intervention of some authority halting the action. Sometimes one or more players suddenly decided to quit the action leaving concluding responses vague and amorphous. Or a new concern emerged cutting off a well defined conclusion to the original central concern of an episode.

The untidiness of endings of episodes may account, to some extent, for the apparent desire on the part of these players to attempt to repeat specific episodes.

	The conclusion of Episode 17 as the Resolution of the Story Entitled "The Naughty Daughters".
	Both Erika and Jackie react negatively to Mom's ultimatum.
IE	Jackie says adamantly, "No! I'm gonna go!" [Mom grabs
RC	her and attempts to calm things down, saying, "Here, you can smoke. You can take your dad's then."] [Meanwhile, Erika ignores this and stomps off, "I'm gonna go buy something."]
AT/OT	[Now the whole family situation deteriorates into pandemonium.] Katherine calls Mom and tells her that they need more diapers for the baby. "They are gone - real
RC	gone!" [Jackie and Erika began arguing again. Jackie accuses Erika of taking her "pack and not paying for it." Erika retorts, "I paid for my own." Mom is beside herself trying to control these rebellious and complaining daughters.] All of a sudden the bell rings signaling Clean Up Time. The girls quickly become themselves and start to pick up around the house, helping one another.

SOME COMMENTS ON PRETEND PLAY EPISODE AS STORY

So, what are the implications of this seeming correspondence between episode construction and a story grammar? What does 'making up' and participating in pretend play episodes have to do with literacy? More importantly, what is its significance, if any, in our understanding of literacy development? Three literacy connections come to mind: the significance of the episode structure in narrative development, the opportunity for fictionalizing that the episode provides, and the storying which the episode fosters.

Structure As A Literacy Connection

Since the analysis of the episode transcriptions using a story grammar revealed a close resemblance between episode construction and story construction, it seems fair to assume that participation in this activity may be reflecting and perhaps influencing the young child's sense of story.

Sachs (1980) has suggested that early on in the development of pretend play activity, the parent teaches the young child how to use language to structure the world by providing the building blocks of story. Succinctly, the parent models narration for the child in the pretend play setting. Continuing along this same vein, Scarlett and Wolf (1979) hypothesize that such play activity actually transforms into narrative as the preschooler's consciousness of the boundary

between fantasy and reality develops "making possible a new and precise understanding of pretense which permits both the internal organization and social sharing of make-believe" (p. 32). The pretend play episode perhaps manifests this transformational process: youngsters literally 'act out' narrative which is gradually progressing from external to internal organization. In a sense, the episode scaffolds story, just as the parent had done much earlier in the process. This leads me to suspect that the pretend play episode as an early and concrete form of story production may be related to that kind of narrative competence which is central to literacy. That is to say, it may bridge orality and literacy because full involvement in its actions includes tactics which undergird active involvement with print (Egan, 1988).

Fictionalizing As A Literacy Connection

Episodes rely on the creation and maintenance of a fictitious context. Creation begins with props as demonstrated in the readying stage of episode building, e.g. "There's that (the baby dish). All the things we need - even the babies" (Sarah age 4 preparing to 'play house'). As it continues into the directing stage, shifts occur from reliance on things to established networks of rules/norms/roles to complete capitulation to language as evidenced by the stating of the central concern and the

emergence of the primary relater. By the acting stage, talk is used to propel and maintain the fiction.

To participate fully in an episode, a player needs to 'tune in' and 'stay tuned'; he or she must engage in fictionalizing oneself and events. Unlike what may be termed simpler forms of pretend play which rely heavily on concrete objects to maintain the fiction, the episode employs language. This places special demands on the player linguistically, demanding the use of elaborated code and to a large extent language independent of the immediate situation. Since a number of literacy researchers have commented on the importance of the ability to fictionalize linguistically in literacy learning (see for example, Bruner, 1984; Goodman, 1985; Harste, Woodward & Burke, 1984; Heath, 1982; Smith, 1984), it seems clear that the pretend play episode may play an important part in developing this ability and, in turn, literacy foundations.

Storying As A Literacy Connection

Attempts on the part of the players in this study to meaningfully interlink their own life experiences with the unfolding play-story pervaded episode building. Comments like "You should always bring potato moliski's" (on an overnight camp out) or "We goin' to Sea World. We have to have bucks to get in there" interlaced and contributed to developing story lines. Now, it should be pointed out that the episode stories did not appear to be simply imitations

or the mimicking of prior experience of the player(s). The episode story was not a retelling or rehashing of old experiences but rather seemed to represent a newly created experience or text. It was more a matter of overt storying, i.e. "making one's own interpretation and ideas available to others" (Wells, 1986, p.194), while engaged in story production, either collectively or singly. In a sense, then, the episode may be a kind of early composition - an instance of text world production which employs cognitive and linguistic operations akin to literacy (Kucer, 1985, p. 319). What does this imply? Again, I am proposing that engagement in episode activity is an important phase, highly action-oriented and anchored in the concrete, which pivots narrative abilities toward literacy by gradually emancipating these from action.

To close, the overriding suggestion is that the episode is more an instance of story making than one of playing - of engagement in fictionalizing than fantasy - of intense and rigorous efforts at storying and text production than imitation or mimicking. In a phrase, the story's the thing and the episode simply a means for 'writing' it. Theoretically, the pretend play episode may be viewed as that 'make-believe moment' which serves to emancipate story as a meaning-maker from concrete constraints, thus easing entree into literacy, just as there may have been an historically earlier 'make-believe moment' which allowed the youngster to emancipate word from object, thus easing entree

into story (Vygotsky, 1967, p. 12-13 & 1978, p.116). And if so, it is crucial that children have time and opportunity for engaging in such story making activity as an integral part of literacy development both before and in the early years of schooling.

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APPENDIX A

DESCRIPTIVE SUMMARY OF CHILDREN AS INFORMANTS

Name	Sex	D.O.B.	Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test	Concepts About Print		Marital Status of Parents
				Letter Identification	Concepts	
Michael H.	M	11/17/80	105	70%	33%	Married
Claudia	F	10/04/80	118	69%	50%	Married
Erika	F	10/04/80	123	78%	46%	Married
Jackie	F	9/29/80	88	48%	21%	Divorced
Sarah	F	6/06/81	97	11%	42%	Married
Adam	M	8/09/81	99	43%	25%	Married
Michael S.	M	4/24/81	101	76%	38%	Married
Sheona	F	8/24/81	118	59%	54%	Married

Appendix B

Sample Interview Probes Used With the Children

1. Hi! How are you doing today? I would like to talk to you for a little while and find out about some things that you like to do. Do you think you can help me?
2. What sorts of things do you do when you play?
3. Do you pretend when you play? Can you tell me about that?
4. What are some things that you do when you pretend?
5. When you pretend what are some things that you use?

Sample Interview Probes Used With the Parent

1. Maybe you could describe a typical day in the life of _____?
2. What sorts of things does _____ play? Tell me about these.
3. When I say 'make-believe', what do you think that means?
4. Could you describe some of your child's pretend activities for me?
5. How frequently does your child engage in pretend activity would you say?

M: Right, next door is that little girl, Kimmy.

K: Um-hum.

M: She's a year behind - exactly a year younger than they are. And they play with her and usually Claudia plays with her, but Erika gets bored with her. And Erika comes back in and plays by herself or entertains me. And...

K: Do you know what they play when they play out there?

M: Usually like house and today I paid attention cause I knew you were going to ask me so like when I'd run up to put a load of laundry away I'd catch 'em. They played dentist today with a Fisher-Price doctor kit, but they used that as their dental tools. And they played restaurant because, like I said, Claudia plays more with Kimmy and so Erika was running a restaurant with the ice cream stand. And so she was ~~calling it a diner.~~ I don't know where she picked that up because we never go to a diner, but...

K: Ah, did she do anything in that - I mean a...

M: She has a waitress pad an, you know - takes the order, I - she doesn't really write anything but she gives you a bill. Mine was - I had two bills with a one on and a one on and one with a fifty on so I assumed I owed her two dollars and fifty cents.

K: Uh-huh.

M: Ah, what else do they play up there-

K: Now, when you say up there, where is that?

M: In their bedroom.

K: In their bedroom.

M: Yeah, which is set-up real nice now. They've got a big play area.

K: Um-hum, um-hum.

M; Finally. We should've been done five years ago.

K: That sounds like my house - it should've been done. OK. So Kimmy plays with them almost every day?

M: No, ah, cause we're not home almost every day.

K: Well, almost every day. OK.

M: Maybe on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

K: But Claudia's the one who really...

M: Well, Erika plays more with a - with a little girl that's going to go to kindergarten with them who lives around the corner, but she seems more mature or something.

K: Um-hum, and what do those girls play? Haven't you ever noticed?

M:

K:

K = Kathy/M = Michael

K: Last time we talked about things that you do at home, right?

M: Um-hum.

K: Why don't you begin telling me a little bit more about what you do at home.

M: OK.

K: Whatcha' been doing lately?

M: Playing with my sister's Barbies.

K: You've been playing with your sister's Barbies?

M: And my sister's Play-Doh.

K: Wow, what do you do with the Barbies?

M: Play with them.

K: Um-hum, what do you play with them? Who are you when you play with the Barbies?

M: Ken.

K: You're Ken. And what do you - where do you guys go, out on dates?

M: No.

K: No. What do those Barbies do, then?

M: Talk together.

K: They talk together, um-hum. I suppose they have a lot to talk about, those Barbies and Ken.

M: Yep, a lot of time to talk.

K: A lot of time they talk or a lot of time to talk?

M: A lot of time they to talk.

K: What do they talk about anyway?

M: Important stuff.

K: Yeah, what would be one important thing they might talk about?

M: One important thing?

K: One important thing.

M: I don't know.

APPENDIX C

PLAYER PROFILES

Pretend Play Activity Characteristic of Each Player

MICHAEL H. usually played at home with three children who lived next door. His favorite play partner was Timmy, a boy about his age. Michael's parents did not think that Michael pretended very much. His dad commented: "I wouldn't say so. I think he does more with what he sees on TV and with us here at home and tries to copy." His mom agreed stating, "Like to pretend they're He Man or Transformers...they can control whatever the situation happens to be at the time...he doesn't do a whole lot of that when he's playing. It's more he's in a realistic... family type situation, like a mommy or daddy."

Michael reported that he liked to play with his cars and trucks - the ambulance and firetruck - to "put people inside

- dead people and sick people" and to take them to the hospital. He also liked to pretend he was a cop like the guys in the movie "Hot Stuff". He liked to chase the "bad guys" and "put 'em in jail. We have to jump on top the roof and put 'em on there...we put 'em down down the pipe...and they go in the house." He and Timmy were always the cops and the girls were always the bad guys. Sometimes he was a fireman and used the neighbor's downspout as a fire pole. In quieter moments, he gave puppet shows or talked to his favorite stuffed animal, Oscar.

At school, Michael preferred to play in the office. He liked to be the boss. He complained: "I didn't fire Jackie...I fired Erika...her didn't listen to me either." He liked to play with the money, to "give it to people so they can get" tickets to go on trips. Often he was a doctor or a fireman putting out fires that erupt "everywhere".

The word 'action' characterized Michael's play. He preferred excitement and a hint of danger or daring in his play. "Me and Timmy...one time...got a spanking...we had to get our 'jamies on and go to bed."

CLAUDIA and ERIKA (the twins) played together most of the time. Sometimes the little girl next door, Kimmy, played with them at home, but "Claudia plays more with her than Erika does", according to mom. At home the mother reported that the girls play a variety of things including house, dentist (they use the

"Fisher-Price doctor kit as their dental tools"), restaurant, flea market, school, bank, office, beauty parlor and so on. "They play those things everyday...I don't even call it anything because it just happens...it's life."

The girls have created an imaginary world which they slip in and out of at will. "You know, they have husbands...and now that we have put the bunks up, those are their houses...like Erika will even have the house key setting on the bunk side and stuff..." Their dolls are named Sara and Deanna "and sometimes they forget, like they'll be sitting at the table and one of them will comment: 'Did your kids do this today?' or something... they always play with imaginary people."

The girls said that their "toy room is like a whole school room." They liked to play house and "dress up in our dress up clothes." And play store "with our ice cream stand...we go there for lunch and buy hamburgers." They acknowledged that they had numerous make-believe friends and a "whole shelf full of toys."

At school, Claudia said that she liked to play doctor and bank. "I like to write checks." Erika preferred to play house and often she was the sister. "I watch the baby." The girls often played together during Activity Time. When they started preschool they expanded their imaginary world to include certain individuals at school - like Jackie and Paul. Jackie was sometimes Claudia's daughter and then her name was "Rhonda." And Paul?

"That's her boyfriend now (Claudia's)...when she went to the festival, she even painted a 'P' instead of a 'C'..."

The key word to describe the pretend play of the twins was 'incorporation'. They absorbed much of what was occurring around them into their play activity, manipulating, expanding and shaping it into something that made sense to them. "Now the riding lawn mower is their taxi...that's their new game...she (Claudia) was making tickets. She's never been in a taxi, so she assumes you have to have a ticket to ride in a taxi."

JACKIE tended to play alone when at home. She was usually one of two people - a mommie or a teacher. "She'll pretend like she'll have a little room up there (in her bedroom)...she brings out her dolls and books. She plays school with them," according to her mother. Or "one time she was doin' that outside. She had the dolls...she had 'em on folding chairs there, you know... and then she said: 'Now class'..."

Other times she played "mostly babies". "She washes the babies up...then she puts them on the bed...then she reads like a little story...she likes to make the words rhyme...then she'll go: 'Now it's time for bed.' Sometimes she takes her babies grocery shopping with her. She asks them if they want anything.. then she'll get a cookie (from the kitchen) for the baby." Once Jackie even wished she was a baby again. "You know, one time she told me...she went like a week she wouldn't eat. She'd start

eatin' something and then she'd spit it out. Finally after a week she told me...she said she wanted to be a baby again. She thought, well, if she would stop eatin' she would go back to a baby."

Jackie said that she liked to play house and doctor's office. She typically spent a good deal of time preparing for whatever she was going to play. During the interviews she was often quite disturbed that the stethoscope was missing since this cramped her style as the doctor when playing with the interviewer. "I wish you brung, if you had one at home, one of those things you check in your tummy..." And then again later: "I like that thing that goes in your ears, but you lost it."

At school she frequently played house with Claudia and Erika. She was usually a mom, sometimes a babysitter and sometimes Claudia's daughter. Other times she played in the office and was a doctor, an assistant or a general office worker. Jackie was a cooperative player and took her roles seriously. She was adept at using gesture and tone of voice to convey her role during play. According to Jackie, whatever she could play she knew how to be. When asked to play model she said: "I don't know how even to be a model 'cause I don't know how to play model."

SARAH was "not a player" according to her mother. She just "follows you around. If you're cooking, she'll want to be cooking or things like that. Or she'll just kinda watch you."

When Sarah played at home she played with her older brothers and sister. She played school and "pretends" she does homework. Mostly, though, she played with her grandmother. "And then, like I've said, I play house with her. We play house... usually I'm the gramma and she's the mother...she really mimics, you know, her mom or me...she loves to play house." Sometimes Sarah and her grandmother cooked together: "I make jello, she helps me. I make pudding, she helps me. She does love to fuss and cook, yes she does." And then "lots of times" they acted out books. "She just loves all books about animals. And she'll say, 'Let's act this one out.' And I'll say, 'OK'...she's a great actress, you know."

Sarah said she likes to play house and to cook. "I love to make pudding...and paghetti and you know what is my stove's favorite?...Jelly!" When she was alone: "Well I pretend when I play all by myself. I pretend like there's a sister and a brother...I really have babies...they don't talk...you can't tell they're walking around." Every now and then she made up parties.

Adam and Sheona were Sarah's play partners at school. They played house, office, and doctor. They also played in the sandbox frequently. "I like to play like our hands are buried and we can't find 'em...and we dig 'em up and get 'em out." She did not like to play school at school: "Well, I didn't play in the

school forever, I didn't...'cept only in Julie's room...Julie has a play school down in our basement...she let's me be what I want...she has a desk."

But also quite often Sarah played alone at preschool or with one of the teachers. She was mild-mannered and rarely assertive with other children. Sarah's style was neatly summed up in her own words: "Sit and watch 'em." She was the observer who expressed what she had seen and felt in privacy or maybe with a trusting friend like Grandma.

ADAM often played alone, too. Every now and then his older brother Scott played school with Adam, but Adam complained that "Scotty has to be the teacher all the time" and he threw his papers away. Mom reported that when alone, Adam plays with his matchbox cars and "makes up his own stories about what he's doing". He played house or school. He liked stuffed animals and hand puppets. "He normally changes his tone of voice and (will) make 'em talk and sometimes carry on a conversation." Adam also spent quite a bit of time with his grandparents. With Grandpa, "they get out the Lincoln Logs and they'll build houses or build stores..."

Adam said that he liked to play school at home: "I play teacher in my room." He liked Legos and cars and trucks. He pretended that he called people on the phone - like Sheona. And he had a make-believe friend. "I've got a big bear - like

that big - I call him Adam." The bear talked to him, slept with him, played and helped him; he didn't wear clothes - "He just has colors on."

In school, Adam played with Sheona consistently. They played office and "daddies goin' to work". Adam and Sheona liked to sing, dance, hum and chant while they played. They often created little songs like 'Chocolate Milk Tonight' or chants like 'Makin' a Road! Makin' a Road! Makin' a Road!' Adam, at play, seemed best described as intent. Typically he became very involved in what he is doing while playing and appeared oblivious to noises or events around him.

MICHAEL S. either played alone at home, with his older sister, Lisa, or with Roxanne and Lisa next door. When alone he played with his cars and trucks "pretending, you know, he's got people in his cars and they're going to the store or something, whatever". With his sister he played house, school, store or bakery. Lisa is "domineering" and "the leader, of course." When she teaches "she gets violent sometimes...she gets loud I should say. They'll do spelling and ABC's." When they play store, "Michael's the customer...he comes in and buys his things and gives her the money." In the house play, Michael does get to be the father. But at the bakery, "Lisa's the baker, of course, and Michael's the one with the money." His mom also reported that Michael does have an imaginary friend named Timmy.

"Then today, you know, he says, 'C'mon Timmy, we'll play Hokey Pokey!" Timmy has been around for quite a long time.

According to Michael, his favorite thing to do is to "play cars," to have "crash-ups and pretend people's in 'em." When Lisa is not around he likes to play school. "I pretend my sister's a little girl and I'm tryin' to make her learn how to do stuff." He also likes to make cookies out of Play Doh and to feed them to his mom. With Roxanne he plays "ice cream truck" or "pretend motorcycles" with their bikes.

At school, Michael generally played alone. He loved the computer and spent much of Activity Time there. Sometimes he played with a little girl named Misty; he liked to tease her. When in the office, his second favorite place, he liked to use the typewriter. The musical term 'staccato' nicely described Michael's play - short, clear-cut, and discontinuous.

SHEONA, like the other four year olds, played alone frequently. When her sister Monique was home from school she played with her, as long as they got along. Sheona and "Monique make-believe together constantly".

Of all the children, Sheona played the most with her mother. Together they played "my little pony", Girl Smiley (a take off on Guy Smiley from Sesame Street), airplane, and "occasionally restaurant". When they played, Sheona did most of the talking. "If she doesn't do all of the talking, she tells me what I'm

supposed to say. 'Now let's pretend that you say...' and then I have to say whatever she says, word for word."

When alone Sheona had make believe friends she played with: "she creates a whole sequence of what they're doing..." She talked to things and liked to make up songs, movies, and stories.

With Monique she played house or beach. They put on their bikinis and pretend that the family room is the beach area. "We'll dive in it (pretend water) but it really does not hold you up because we land on our feet...we have a umbrella...we put it up in the sand." Sometimes they play dress up with long sleeves and "now that's the hard part."

In the preschool, Sheona was an active player. She seldom played alone - maybe at the flannel board every now and then. She usually played with Adam and Sarah. When they played house, they played "the usual stuff" - mom, dad, babies, eating. Or they played office. Sometimes she got a travel ticket to go to "the beach or Hollywood" and "usually there's a circus there we stay to watch". She, Adam and Sarah while at play have gone many places: Sea World, Disney Land, camping, picnics at the beach.

When Sheona played she had a tendency to construct a story, a kind of narrative that knit together the play actions. Sometimes her stories became elaborate and were sustained over time. The distinguishing mark of Sheona's play was storytelling; she was the raconteur of the four year olds.

A taxonomy of kinds of pretend play activity.

Appendix D

Organizing Topics of the 41 Episodes

ORGANIZING TOPICS	EPISODE NUMBER
• treating/healing	1,5,9,11,12,13,16,24
• giving/getting mail	2
• child care	3,31,35,17,25
• cooking	4,10,20,23,39
• giving/getting money	6,8,15
• dining/out to eat	14,17,25,36
• taking a trip	18,27,28,30
• getting married	19
• storytelling	21
• packing	22
• signing up/ordering	26,32,33
• office work	29,34,40
• schooling	37,38

Appendix E

A Sampling of Episode Synopses

Key for dialogue types:

a) to reveal character
b) to provide peripheral information
c) to present central concern
d) to set the pace
e) to establish tone

Episode 1

Title: A Long Stay

Synopsis: The baby is sick and in the hospital. The family is concerned about how the baby has to stay in the hospital. The mother stays by the baby. She reads the baby a story as she waits for the doctor. Other family members come and go expressing concerns and assuring one another that the baby will be alright.

Primary dialogue type: c

Episode 3

Title: Chocolate Milk Tonight

Synopsis: The players are busy caring for the baby. They discover that they need to go to the store. When they return from the store they are very excited because they have chocolate milk. They sing and dance about it.

Primary dialogue types: b, c, d, e

Episode 9

Title: Hello, It Your Honey

Synopsis: A baby is very sick and requires a heart transplant. The operation is successful and all are pleased.

Primary dialogue types: a, b, c, d, e